

Message Text

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 01 STATE 026740

71
ORIGIN ARA-20

INFO OCT-01 IO-14 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10

L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SPC-03 SS-20

SAM-01 SAB-01 USIE-00 INRE-00 IOE-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00

/099 R

DRAFTED BY ARA/PAF:GDWALLACE:STT

APPROVED BY ARA/PAF:GDWALLACE

----- 107137

O 082010Z FEB 74

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO ALL AMERICAN REPUBLIC DIPLOMATIC POSTS IMMEDIATE
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

UNCLAS STATE 026740

E.O. 11652

TAGS: PFOR,

SUBJECT: TEXT OF SEC. KISSINGER'S SPEECH PANAMA, FEB. 7,
1974

FOLLOWING TEXT OF THE SECRETARY'S SPEECH AFTER SIGNING

AGREEMENT ON PRINCIPLES FOR PANAMA CANAL TREATY NEGOTIA-
TIONS:

BEGIN TEXT: WE MEET HERE TODAY TO EMBARK UPON A NEW ADVEN-
TURE TOGETHER. OUR PURPOSE IS TO BEGIN REPLACING AN OLD
TREATY AND TO MOVE TOWARD A NEW RELATIONSHIP. WHAT WE SIGN
TODAY HOPEFULLY MARKS AS WELL THE ADVENT OF A NEW ERA IN
THE HISTORY OF OUR HEMISPHERE, AND THUS MAKES A MAJOR CON-
TRIBUTION TO THE STRUCTURE OF WORLD PEACE.

MEETING AS WE DO ON THIS Isthmus WHICH LINKS NORTH WITH
SOUTH AND ATLANTIC WITH PACIFIC, WE CANNOT BUT BE
CONSCIOUS OF HISTORY -- A HISTORY WHICH HAS PROFOUNDLY
CHANGED THE COURSE OF HUMAN AFFAIRS. FOUR CENTURIES AGO
THE CONQUISTADORS LANDED HERE BRINGING FAITH AND TAKING
BOOTY. THEY WERE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE TRADITIONAL STYLE
UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 02 STATE 026740

AND USE OF POWER. SEVENTY YEARS AGO, WHEN THE PANAMA CANAL

WAS BEGUN, STRENGTH AND INFLUENCE REMAINED THE FOUNDATION OF THE WORLD ORDER.

TODAY WE LIVE IN A PROFOUNDLY TRANSFORMED ENVIRONMENT. AMONG THE MANY REVOLUTIONS OF OUR TIME NONE IS MORE SIGNIFICANT THAN THE CHANGE IN THE NATURE OF WORLD ORDER.

09234 #- &492, 9 .9, 5497 5#-5 85 \$3*83 :-):7)-589,;

THE QUEST FOR JUSTICE HAS BECOME UNIVERSAL. A STABLE WORLD ORDER CANNOT BE IMPOSED BY POWER; IT MUST DERIVE FROM CONSENSUS. MANKIND CAN ACHIEVE COMMUNITY ONLY ON THE BASIS OF SHARED ASPIRATIONS.

THIS IS WHY THE MEETING TODAY BETWEEN REPRESENTATIVES OF THE MOST POWERFUL NATION OF THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE AND ONE OF THE SMALLEST HOLDS GREAT SIGNIFICANCE. IN THE PAST OUR NEGOTIATION WOULD HAVE BEEN DETERMINED BY RELATIVE STRENGTH. TODAY WE HAVE COME TOGETHER IN AN ACT OF CILIATION. WE RECOGNIZE THAT NO AGREEMENT CAN ENDURE UNLESS THE PARTIES TO IT HAVE A STAKE IN MAINTAINING IT. PARTICIPATION IN PARTNERSHIP IS FAR PREFERABLE TO RELUCTANT ACQUIESCENCE.

WHAT WE DO HERE TODAY CONTAINS A MESSAGE, TOO, FOR OUR COLLEAGUES IN THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE WHO, IN THEIR RECENT MEETING IN BOGOTA, GAVE IMPETUS TO THIS NEGOTIATION. THE METHOD OF SOLUTION AND THE SPIRIT OF PARTNERSHIP BETWEEN PANAMA AND THE UNITED STATES AS EMBODIED IN THIS AGREEMENT ARE AN EXAMPLE OF WHAT WE MEAN BY THE SPIRIT OF COMMUNITY IN THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE -- IT CAN BE THE FIRST STEP TOWARD A NEW ERA WHICH WE BELIEVE WILL BE GIVEN FRESH HOPE AND PURPOSE WHEN WE MEET AGAIN WITH THE FOREIGN MINISTERS OF ALL THE HEMISPHERE IN TWO WEEKS' TIME.

THE UNITED STATES AND PANAMA

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PANAMA AND THE UNITED STATES IS ROOTED IN EXTRAORDINARY HUMAN ACCOMPLISHMENT -- THE PANAMA CANAL, A MONUMENT TO MAN'S ENERGY AND CREATIVE GENIUS. BUT AS IS SO OFTEN THE CASE, MAN'S TECHNOLOGICAL TRIUMPH OUTSTRIPPED HIS POLITICAL IMAGINATION.

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 03 STATE 026740

--FOR SIXTY YEARS THE SAFE, EFFICIENT AND EQUITABLE OPERATION OF THE CANAL HAS GIVEN TO PANAMA, TO THE UNITED STATES AND TO ALL NATIONS, BENEFITS BEYOND CALCULATION;

--YET, THE CANAL STILL OPERATES UNDER THE TERMS OF A TREATY SIGNED IN 1903, WHEN THE REALITIES OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS WERE STILL SHAPED BY TRADITIONAL PRECEPTS OF POWER.

--THE TENSIONS GENERATED BY THESE CONTRADICTIONS -- THE ENDLESS DEBATES OVER THE COSTS AND BENEFITS OF THE CONVENTION OF 1903 -- HAVE JEOPARDIZED THE ABILITY OF OUR TWO COUNTRIES NOT ONLY TO WORK TOGETHER TO MEET FUTURE DEMANDS UPON THE CANAL BUT ALSO TO DEVELOP A CONSTRUCTIVE RELATIONSHIP AS FRIENDS.

UNCLASSIFIED

WE MUST ASSESS THE DOCUMENT WE HAVE JUST SIGNED AGAINST THIS BACKGROUND OF REWARD AND FRUSTRATION. ABOVE ALL WE MUST JUDGE IT IN THE CONTEXT OF WHAT IT MEANS FOR THE PEOPLES OF THE UNITED STATES AND PANAMA AND WHAT IT CAN MEAN FOR THE PEOPLE OF THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE.

THE EIGHT PRINCIPLES IN THIS AGREEMENT CONSTITUTE, AS GENERAL TORRIJOS HAS SAID, A "PHILOSOPHY OF UNDERSTANDING." SACRIFICING NEITHER INTEREST NOR SELF-RESPECT, PANAMA AND THE UNITED STATES HAVE MADE A CHOICE FOR PARTNERSHIP. MEETING IN DIGNITY AND NEGOTIATING WITH FAIRNESS, WE HAVE ACKNOWLEDGED THAT COOPERATION IS IMPOSED UPON US BY OUR MUTUAL NEED AND BY OUR MUTUALrecognition OF THE NECESSITY FOR A COOPERATIVE WORLD ORDER. FOREIGN MINISTER TACK AND AMBASSADOR BUNKER HAVE SHOWN THAT PANAMA'S SOVEREIGNTY AND THE VITAL INTERESTS OF THE UNITED STATES IN THE PANAMA CANAL CAN BE MADE COMPATIBLE. THEY HAVE ENGAGED IN AN ACT OF STATESMANSHIP IMPELLED BY THE CONVICTION THAT WE ARE PART OF A LARGER COMMUNITY IN THE AMERICAS AND IN THE WORLD.

IN THAT SPIRIT OF PARTNERSHIP THE UNITED STATES AND PANAMA HAVE MET AS EQUALS AND HAVE DETERMINED THAT A JUST SOLUTION MUST RECOGNIZE:

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 04 STATE 026740

-- FIRST, THAT PANAMA AND THE UNITED STATES HAVE A MUTUAL STAKE IN THE Isthmus: PANAMA IN ITS GREATEST NATURAL RESOURCE -- ITS STRATEGIC LOCATION -- AND THE UNITED STATES IN THE USE AND DEFENSE OF THE CANAL;

-- SECOND, THAT THE ARRANGEMENT WHICH MAY HAVE BEEN SUITABLE SEVENTY YEARS AGO TO BOTH THE UNITED STATES AND PANAMA MUST BE ADJUSTED TO MEET THE REALITIES OF THE CONTEMPORARY WORLD.

-- THIRD, THAT A NEW TREATY IS REQUIRED WHICH WILL STRENGTHEN THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN US WHILE PROTECTING WHAT IS ESSENTIAL TO EACH. A NEW AGREEMENT MUST RESTORE PANAMA'S TERRITORIAL SOVEREIGNTY WHILE PRESERVING THE INTERESTS OF THE UNITED STATES AND ITS PARTICIPATION IN WHAT IS FOR US AN INDISPENSABLE INTERNATIONAL WATERWAY.

OUR AGREEMENT IS THE CULMINATION OF A LONG AND DIFFICULT NEGOTIATION.

WHILE WE HAVE TAKEN A GREAT STRIDE FORWARD, WE MUST STILL TRAVEL A DIFFICULT DISTANCE TO OUR GOAL. THERE IS OPPOSITION IN BOTH OUR COUNTRIES TO A REASONABLE RESOLUTION OF OUR DIFFERENCES. OLD SLOGANS ARE OFTEN MORE COMFORTING

THAN CHANGES THAT REFLECT NEW REALITIES. IT IS THE ESSENCE OF REVOLUTIONS THAT TO THEIR CONTEMPORARIES THEY APPEAR AS IRRITATING INTERRUPTIONS IN THE COURSE OF A COMFORTABLE NORMALCY. BUT IT IS EQUALLY TRUE THAT THOSE WHO FAIL TO UNDERSTAND NEW CURRENTS ARE INEVITABLY ENGULFED BY THEM.

WE ARE DETERMINED TO SHAPE OUR OWN DESTINY. OUR NEGOTIATORS WILL REQUIRE WISDOM, PURPOSEFULNESS, TENACITY. THEY WILL MEET OBSTACLES AND DISAGREEMENTS. YET, THEY WILL SUCCEED - FOR OUR RELATIONS AND OUR COMMITMENTS TO A NEW COMMUNITY IN THIS HEMISPHERE DEMAND IT.

IN THE PRESIDENT'S NAME, I HEREBY COMMIT THE UNITED STATES TO COMPLETE THIS NEGOTIATION SUCCESSFULLY AND AS QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE.

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 05 STATE 026740

THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE COMMUNITY

WE ARE HERE TODAY NOT JUST AS TWO SOVEREIGN NATIONS BU
E E E E E E E

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptoning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: AGREEMENT DRAFT, MINISTERIAL VISITS, SPEECHES, PANAMA CANAL TREATY, NEGOTIATIONS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 08 FEB 1974
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: n/a
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: n/a
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment:
Disposition Date: 01 JAN 1960
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1974STATE026740
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: GDWALLACE:STT
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: N/A
Errors: N/A
Film Number: n/a
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1974/newtext/t19740244/aaaabprd.tel
Line Count: 198
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE
Office: ORIGIN ARA
Original Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: n/a
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: shawdg
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 25 FEB 2002
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <25 FEB 2002 by elbezefj>; APPROVED <29 NOV 2002 by shawdg>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: TEXT OF SEC. KISSINGER'S SPEECH PANAMA, FEB. 7, 1974
TAGS: PFOR, OVIP, (KISSINGER, HENRY A)
To: ALL POSTS USUN NEW YORK
Type: TE
Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005